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# M.H.I.-9

# **Indian National Movement**

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By: Kshyama Sagar Meher



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### QUESTION PAPER

June - 2023

(Solved)

#### INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

M.H.I.-9

Time: 3 Hours ] [ Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. All questions carry equal marks.

#### **SECTION-I**

Q. 1. Analyse the colonial and nationalist perspectives on Indian nationalism.

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-3, Page No. 15, 'Colonialist Perspective and Nationalist Views'.

Q. 2. Write a note on economic nationalism with special reference to Indian thinkers.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 29, 'What is Economic Nationalism?' and Page No. 30, 'Economic Nationalism in India'.

Q. 3. Discuss the ideology and activities of the revolutionary nationalists.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 64, Q. No. 1 and Page No. 64, Q. No. 3.

Q. 4. Explain the role of the Swaraj Party in the growth of Indian national movement.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 70, Q. No. 2 and Q. No. 3 and Page No. 66, 'Essence of Swarajsm'.

Q. 5. Write a note on the Non-cooperation Movement.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 57, 'Background to the Non-Cooperation Movement' and 'Convergence of the Two Movements Under Gandhi's Leadership'.

#### **SECTION-II**

Q. 6. How did the Gandhian method of mass mobilisation succeed in bringing women into public life?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-29, Page No. 135, Q. No. 1 and Page No. 133, 'Mobilisation of Women in the Gandhian Phase'.

Q. 7. Dicuss the views of various historians regarding the relationship between nationalism and peasantry.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-25, Page No. 115, 'Debate on the Relationship between Nationalism and Peasantry'.

Q. 8. Write a note on the making of the Indian constitution.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-34, Page No. 152, 'Introduction', 'Evolution of the Indian Constitution 1858-1935' and Page No. 153, 'Philosophy of the Indian Constitution'.

Q. 9. What were the Congress' attitudes towards the landlords? Did they change over time?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-28, Page No. 128, 'Landlords After the Revolt of 1857', Page No. 129, 'Landlords and the Nationalist Movement during the 1920s and 1930s' and Page No. 130, 'Congress the Left and the Position of Landlords'.

Q. 10. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Poona Pact, 1932

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-30, Page No. 137, 'Poona Pact'.

(b) Swadeshi Movement

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-8, Page No. 40, 'Swadeshi Movement'.

(c) The Subaltern views on Indian national movement

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-4, Page No. 22, 'Subaltern Studies'.

(d) Political Mobilisation in the princely states

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-19, Page No. 91, 'Political Mobilisation in Princely States as a Tool of Democratisation'.

## QUESTION PAPER

December – 2022

(Solved)

#### INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

M.H.I.-9

Time: 3 Hours ] [ Maximum Marks: 100

Note: Attempt any five questions. All questions carry equal marks.

#### **SECTION-A**

Q. 1. Discuss the non-modernist theories about the emergence of nations and nationalism.

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-1, Page No. 2, 'Theories of Nationalism' and 'Non-Modernist Theories'.

Q. 2. Discuss the views of Indian thinkers on the issue of economic nationalism in India.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 32, Q. No. 1 and Page No 33, Q. No. 2.

Q. 3. Write a note on the Non-cooperation Movement.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-12, Page No. 57, 'Background to the Non-cooperation Movement' and Page No. 60, Q. No. 2 and Q. No. 3.

Q. 4. Describe the development of revolutionary nationalism in India.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 64, Q. No. 1.

Q. 5. Discuss the role of Swaraj Party in the growth of Indian National Movement.

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-14, Page No. 69, Q. No. 1 and Page No. 70, Q. No. 2 and Q. No. 3.

#### **SECTION-B**

Q. 6. How did the Gandhian method of mass mobilisation succeed in bringing women into public life?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-29, Page No. 133, 'Mobilisation of Women in the Gandhian Phase', Page No. 134, 'The Quit India Movement' and 'Women in Jail'.

Q. 7. Write a note on the relationship between the nationalists and the working class in India.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-26, Page No. 120, 'Nationalists and Working Class in the Era of Mass Nationalism'.

Q. 8. Discuss the demand for Pakistan and its consequences.

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-23, Page No. 108, 'Pakistan Demand and Its Consequences'.

Q. 9. Analyse the Marxist and Subaltern views on Indian nationalism.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-3, Page No. 16, 'Marxist Approaches' and Chapter-4, Page No. 22, 'The Subaltern Studies'.

Q. 10. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Government of India Act, 1935

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 79, 'Government of India Act, 1935'.

(b) Swadeshi Movement

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-8, Page No. 40, 'Swadeshi Movement'.

(c) Civil Liberties as a legacy of the Indian National Movement

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-35, Page No. 157, 'Promotion of Civil Liberties'.

(d) Relationship between the Congress and the Dalits in the colonial period

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-30, Page No. 136, 'National Movement and Integration of Dalit Issue'.

# Sample Preview of The Chapter

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# **INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT**

#### **Block-I: Introduction**

#### **Nation and Nationalism**



#### INTRODUCTION

Indian nationalism during the freedom struggle had two major ideas: anti-imperialism and national unity. Any person, movement or organisation that practised and upheld these two ideas, was called a nationalist. Nationalism, however, was not confined only to India. Nationalism has been a global phenomenon and the most powerful political force in the modern world. It has manifested itself as politics, ideology, movement, belief system, a sentiment and a passion. Poems, novels and various literature have been written on nationalism. Both the developed and under-developed societies came under the spell of nationalism. In this chapter, we will explain some of the general theories of nationalism.

#### **CHAPTER AT A GLANCE**

# UNDERSTANDING NATION, NATIONALISM AND NATION-STATE

We will discuss here:

- (i) Some major debates and controversies related to nationalism;
- (ii) The various theories offered by social scientists;
- (iii) The relevance of these theories for India.

#### The Question of Nationalism

Between 18th and 20th century, a large number of small, local communities transformed into a small number of large communities. The new communities had new ties and impersonal and yet very powerful solidarities. Groups and individuals looked upon themselves as members of this newly created large invisible community called the Nation. In this process, a new type of imagination was involved. They were getting created above all through an "imagination". Communities were not constituted by reciprocity, common sharing of resources, or familiarity. Most communities in the past were based on familiarity, but the new communities were based on unfamiliarity and anonymity. The new communities were brought together by a kind of imagination. In this sense, Benedict Anderson, a leading theorist on nationalism, called nations as "Imagined Communities".

These new communities wanted that they should have their own representative state. They felt state systems should emanate from the communities and should be representative of them. It became the defining features of nation, nationalism and nation-state. Ernest Gellner, another important theorist of nationalism, defined nationalism as "Primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment."

It is difficult and contentious to define nation because the actual world of nations is diverse. Scholars have refrained from providing a universal definition of nation, applicable to all situations. It is easier to describe specific nations. Ernest Gellner identified two attributes that could possibly form part of the generic definition – Culture and Will.

#### Ernest Gellner gives two points in this regards:

- (i) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communication
- (ii) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. Nations make man; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities.

#### **Defining Nation and Nation-State**

A nation is not a natural human community, but a historical category. It is a product of certain historical conditions. In the late 18th and 20th centuries, the word "nation" was used in different ways. It was used either in the sense of a race (a biological category) or in the sense of a clan (a social category larger than the family and connected through ties).

A new element was imparted to this understanding towards the last decades of the nineteenth century. Ernest Renan, a French scholar, rejected both the racial/biological and the natural definitions of nation. He put forward a voluntaristic definition of nation, based on "Will, memory and consciousness". It had the following characteristics:

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- A nation is formed through the forces of history and it not a priori reality existing in a natural kind of way.
- (ii) A nations is formed by subjective factors like will and consciousness and not by natural boundaries such as rivers, mountains and oceans.

It considered nations as contingencies brought about by human will. Nations could be formed and dissolved. Renan said: "Nations are not something eternal. They have begun; they will end. They will be replaced in all probability, by a European confederation. At the present time the existence of nations happens to be good, even necessary. Their existence is a guarantee of liberty, which would be lost if the world had only one law and only one master."

A major problem in Renan's definition is that it focused only on Europe and categories such as will, memory and consciousness that could give as a clue to nations were so general in nature that they could be found in most communities. How to then distinguish nation as a unique and distinctive human community from other kinds of human communities. Renan's definition captured the generic part of nations but neglected their distinctive part.

Joseph Stalin defined nations as "A historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." According to this definition, five main features that would give us a clue to nations are historic continuity, common language, territory, common grid of economic life and a common culture.

Stalin and Ranan were opposite in their understanding, but they shared the basic digits that nations were formed and did not exist as an a priori reality. Renan defined nations from the generic side of the scale, while Stalin defined nations from the specific side. If we take the example of European Jews in the twentieth century, the Jewish nation is not adequately covered by Stalin's definition, but it is covered by Renan's.

However, Stalin and Renan missed some elements of nations. Ernest Gellner provided the missing elements in 1983 in his book *Nations and Nationalism*. He said "It is not the case that already formed nations create their own justification through the ideology of nationalism; but rather that nations are made by nationalism."

Three elements together – subjective, objective, and ideological — can thus complete the definition of nation. Therefore, nation means a large, anonymous human community that is brought together by subjective features such as will, consciousness and memory; objective features such as historic continuity, common language, territory, economic life and common culture; and ideological features such as nationalism.

However, all features of this definition do not apply to all situations. For example, Indian nationalism was not based on a common language. Jewish or Polish nationalisms were not based on common territory, or even a common economic life. Many other nationalists of Eastern Europe (Albania for instance) were not based on any great historic continuity.

The history has all kinds of state systems but none of them meet the nationalist condition. In modern times, a new type of state – nation-state – emerged in which the society and state are organically connected. Nationalism is the main actor that insists on the creation of a nation-state. Nations are large modern communities which aim to have their own representative state. Nationalism makes it possible.

#### CHALLENGES BEFORE A THEORY OF NATIONALISM

Many scholars believed the emergence of new national communities and the transformation of the world from agrarian to industrial and the creation of industrial society were integrally linked.

Ernest Gellner explained in his theory how the emergence of nationalism was the product of this transformation and was deeply implicated in it. Many others also agreed with him on this point. They agreed that the creation of nations was inherent in the process of industrialism. Some of the features of the industrial society were such that the raw material of diverse human communities transformed into neat, standar-dized, homogenized, large national communities.

A major trouble with the theory that linked nationalism to industrialism is industrialism and nationalism may have started at around the same time in late 18th-19th centuries, but after that their trajectories became very dissimilar. Nationalism spread to large parts of the world, but industrialism was confined to small pockets of European countries. There are also different explanations for the emergence of nationalism. Benedict Andersons agreed on this.

#### THEORIES OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism cannot be explained only by specific or endogenous factors or factors operative within the society. It can be explained by external or exogenous factors, or factors from outside the society. Tom Nairn, a leading scholar on nationalism, explained this by giving the example of Welsh nationalism. Theorists of nationalism differ in the identification of these external factors. Some consider nationalism as a necessary stage of human development that all societies must go through, while some others take it in more general terms as the unfolding of the "human spirit", or a great social and psychological need for identity, or for identifying with a larger whole. Nationalism has a broad, trans-country, generic explanation. Some general explanations for nationalism can be made if it is identified on the basis of some common traits, experienced by different societies broadly during 18th-20th centuries.

The differences among theorists can be best understood through binaries which range from looking at nationalism as either an accident or a great human need, either necessary or contingent, either ideational or materialist, either a false consciousness or a great human aspiration, either brought about by certain groups or by structures. However, the most important binary is that between modernists and non-modernists.

#### Non-Modernist Theories

Non-modernists look at the larger spread of time. They say that nationalism must have evolved over a long stretch of time. All modernists agree with each and share little in common except for being modernists. Non-modernists can be divided between evolutionists, naturalists and perennialists. Naturalists look at nation as something natural and rooted in human mind. They take it

#### NATION AND NATIONALISM / 3

as a very natural human sentiment. Naturalists do not use expressions like rise or growth or emergence of nationalism. They only talk about a permanent, timeless presence of nationalist feeling in the minds and hearts of people. For example, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the ideologue and propagator of Pakistani nationalism, said that a Muslim nation was not a product of recent political developments, but that a Muslim nation existed in a fully finished form in the medieval past. When Jinnah was asked about the exact location of his Muslim nation and when it came into being, he gave an interesting answer: Pakistan already existed for a long time; it was not created in the recent past. The perennialist position has been understood and described as an "invented tradition". The idea of "invented tradition" has the following connotation:

- (i) Nationalists tend to use and invoke the past and traditions as a legitimizing device to validate their nationalist projects.
- (ii) They also claim legitimacy for their nation by claiming its presence in the past, history and traditions, or as a continuation from the past.
- (iii) The tradition is not presented as it was, but rather it is invented or manufactured.

The concept of "Invented Traditions", which was coined by leading historian Eric Hobsbawm, has been a useful concept in understanding the nature of nations and nationalism.

Another important non-modernist position is the evolutionist one. It recognizes the pervasive presence of nationalism in the modern period but that it can be explained by going to the pre-modern period of human history. This argument focuses on pre-existing cultural traditions, heritages and various other ethnic ties, sentiments and collective memories "which have coalesced over the generations" and thus contributed to the emergence of nations in modern times. For example, the nature and pattern of modern Greek nationalism can be understood better by focusing on both the period of Byzantine imperialism and the classical antiquity. Anthony D. Smith is one of the major proponents of this approach.

#### **Modernist Theories**

One of the earliest modernist Elie Kedouri looked at nationalism primarily as a doctrine and saw it as rooted in the intellectual history of modern Europe. This was a non-structural explanation of nationalism. It takes nationalism as rooted, not in concrete structures and specific conditions, but only in ideas and doctrines of some European thinkers. Ernest Gellner provided the structural explanation.

Gellner believed nationalism as the integral part of the transformation of the world from agrarian to industrial. His theory is both structural and materialist. It is structural since he does not see it as the result of the activities of a few groups and individual but as the unfolding of new economic and productive forces creating new interplays of power and culture. It is materialist since it looks not as ideas and doctrines as the basic motor in the emergence of nationalist. The theory recognizes the primacy of economic forces in creating new conditions. The essence of Gellner's theory of nationalism is given below:

(i) Industrial economy which emerged in Europe in

late 18th and the beginning of the 19th century was based on perpetual growth. It needed to grow and kept growing for its survival. It dismantled the stability of the old order.

- (ii) Full or substantial literacy is needed for its functioning. This literacy had to be of a homogenous type so that a large number of anonymous people, unfamiliar with one another, could communicate with one another.
- (iii) it is marked by remarkable mobility, both occupation and spatial. Large numbers of people were uprooted from their traditional occupations, locations and cultures.
- (iv) it was also based on egalitarianism and like a hurricane or a huge tidal wave, it destroyed the earlier hierarchies based on rank and status. The mobility and anonymity of the new order created conditions for egalitarianism.
- (v) The preservation of the old, elite high-culture became incompatible with the new economy. The high culture of the elites did not stay confined to the few and had to become shared and pervasive. So, both the multiple local folk cultures and an exclusive high culture were replaced and transformed into a pervasive and a shared high culture. The earlier faultlines in the European society were replaced by new boundaries based on new cultures.
- (vi) The role of the state became very important. The new economic apparatus became so large that it could be effectively managed only be the state. The state had to maintain it only if it enjoyed the support and the allegiance of the people.

All these called for a new type of arrangement:

- (i) Ordinary people could now aspire to live with dignity. The new high culture could be promoted and protected only by the state. Hence, the necessity of a state as representative of the people emerged.
- (ii) The new economy became so large that it needed participation of a large number of people for its effective functioning. People were trained for the new jobs and roles. Education became necessary and had to be uniformly imparted across different categories and was effectively provided only by the state. Thus, state became very important. In the process of imparting education, state also developed homo-genizing forces, which helped in the creation of the new cultural community having a common culture.
- (iii) The state could not carry out its task till it had the support and allegiance of the people. It was necessary that people 'belong' to the state and that this belonging should be direct without being mediated by any other ties of kinship and community.

In all these processes, nationalism becomes the inevitable and inescapable consequence. The modern economy, the modern state and the society require nationalism. This is the crux of Gellner's explanation for nationalism.

It was a credible theory of nationalism, but a major

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problem with it was that it did not seem to correspond to developments in India or indeed in other colonies. Gellner's theory captured the global nature of the phenomenon very well, but it did not adequately cover the nationalist experiences of the colonial societies of Asia and Africa. This theory was developed almost entirely on the basis of Western European experiences and then universalised as valid for all of mankind.

Tom Nairn, in his book, *Break-Up of Great Britain*, explained nationalism as having emanated not from the industrialized European societies but from the colonial societies. Tom Nairn is both modernist and universalist. He is modernist because he sees nationalism as a product of the last two centuries. He is universalist since he looks at nationalism as a specific feature of the general historical development of modern world. He believed nationalism as an inevitable and integral outcome of a particular stage of human development. Nairn sees nationalism as a consequence of the capitalist transformation of the world and of the uneven under-development inherent in capitalism. The essence of his theory is given below:

Capitalism that emerged in some parts of Europe towards the end of the 18th centuries created a myth of even development. The myth was that gradually capitalism would get diffused all over the world, but capitalism flourished by creating a "core" (of advance capitalist countries of Europe) and a "periphery" outside the area of the new industrial-capitalist-world economy. The unevenness was felt in the periphery (the colonial societies of Asia and Africa). The elite discovered that progress in the abstract only meant domination in the concrete for them. Moreover, this domination was exercised by alien and foreign powers.

Capitalism created a system of imperialism and colonialism. Humanity's forward march became synonymous with 'Westernization'. In the colonial societies, the elites discovered that they were being excluded from the new system and that their full incorporation in it was just not possible. A large majority of the people in the colonies were exploited in the new system.

The elites in the colonial societies understood that capitalism had two faces-it brought wealth, affluence and mobility to the European world and it also brought economic underdevelopment and political subjugation to the people of the colonies. It led to the development of nationalism. The elite took the initiative in organising resistance to this situation of domination, exploitation and exclusion. This meant the conscious organisation, mobilisation and formation of a national community, cutting across class lines and focusing on the separate identity of this community. "The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history and the invitation card had to be written in a language they understood." This new effort created a vertical alliance of the elite and the masses against foreign domination and united them in a common struggle to eliminate their domination. In this process, nationalism emerged.

This is the essence of Tom Nairn's theory. Tom Nairn is very close to the Indian experience of nationalism. His theory applies to anti-colonial nationalisms in general and Indian nationalism in particular.

#### INDIAN NATIONALISM

The two components of the Indian experience are the Indian component (specific) and the nationalist (generic) one.

In the generic component, the modernity of the Indian nation can be highlighted. India has long continuous history of many centuries, but Indian nation is a modern phenomenon. India was ruled by many large empires in the past, but a national community of Indian people did not exist. An Indian nation was made in the 19th and the 20th centuries by the ideology of Indian nationalism in the context of British imperialism.

Indian nationalism was territorial and not ethnic or religious. The Indianness claim was put forward on the basis of territory. It was not the common culture or a common language that went into the making of the national community, but the common economic exploitation under British imperialism united Indians.

Indian nationalism also had some distinctive features. In the second half of the 19th century, British scholars, bureaucrats and ethnographers told the Indian intelligentsia that there was not, nor could ever be, an Indian nation. British scholars John Strachey and John Seeley wrote in their books that India did not mark the territory of a nation and a language, but the territories of many nations and many languages. British colonial discourses on India pointed out India's cultural, linguistic and religious diversity and looked upon it as a barrier to the development of Indian nationhood.

The majority of Indian intellectuals refrained from replying to the "no nation" charge with an "always a nation" assertion. Bipan Chandra wrote the initiators of the Indian National Movement, the 19th century intellectuals, agreed with the British assertion that India was not yet a nation. They accepted that India was not yet a formed nation despite common history, geography and the elements of a common culture. They also accepted that nation and nationalism had not existed in India earlier. They accepted the incoherence of India as also the existence of multiplicity of identities in it. They also accepted that nation was not a natural or inevitable phenomenon but was a historical creation, but they denied that India could not become a nation.

Indians said historical forces were gradually bringing the Indian people together and that India had now entered the process of becoming a nation. They said India was a nation-in-the-making. The 19th century Indian thinkers made a distinction between nation and civilization and highlighted the novelty of the Indian nation. They argued that India was old civilization, but a new nation. Swami Vivekanand said in 1896: "A nation is being made out of India's different races. They are no less various than the different peoples of Furone"

Indian leaders made references to "new nation", new India, "new national spirit", "development of nationhood". Hence, 'invention of tradition' as a standard nationalist device was not resorted to by the 19th century Indian nationalists. However, in the late 20th century, some leaders considered Indian nation to be perennial and always present in Indian history. They glorified India's past and traditions and projected them on India's present.

Besides, Indian nationalism was plural, non-coercive and civil. Indian nationalist leaders promoted the idea of the